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# The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1917

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# Notes of the Week

## The Government and Women

MISS JANET RANKIN, Representative from Montana, has introduced into the House a bill to restore citizenship to American women who have married foreigners. Chairman Burnett of the Immigration and Naturalization Committee has announced that he will grant a hearing on it immediately. Miss Rankin will press strongly for its passage and as the Washington Post says: "The powerful vote in the suffrage states entitles Miss Rankin to all the consideration that can be given her."

This naturalization bill, the need of which has been felt keenly for years, has been agitated by such women as Inez Milholland Boissevian, herself an alien through her marriage with a Dutch citizen. The war has now made the bill of vital importance to thousands and thousands of American women married to Germans and Austrians. The message of President Wilson to Congress, in which the one mention of women was the recommendation that women be subjected to the espionage act as well as men, thus making outlaws of American women married to alien enemies, brings to a crisis the dissatisfaction of women with the laws that make a woman's citizenship dependent upon her husband, and with the injustice of a government that dares keep women disfranchised and yet dispose of her rights.

## New Forces for the Amendment

NEW YORK state suffragists who have worked for the enfranchisement of New York women for 78 years will now turn their political power to the bigger fight for the federal amendment. The state suffrage party, meeting last week in its 49th annual convention, adopted a new platform, the first two planks of which are:

As an organization to remain non-partisan.

To campaign against candidates who oppose the federal amendment.

"Our country sets an example that we may follow," said Mrs. Norman Whitehouse, making a spirited appeal to New York women to demand suffrage now as a war measure with all their voting strength.

"It is sending its armies abroad, our husbands, our sons, to fight, not for any advantage of its own, but for democracy. We may in the same manner take our forces to Washington and there fight peacefully for democracy. If we make this our first object we shall be putting promptly to the best advantage the service of that same human liberty for which we have worked so long unarmed—our new, our powerful weapon of votes. Let us test our new weapon in the service of our sisters."

The New York Times, still blind to the truth that women's struggle for enfranchisement is one of the greatest awakenings to democracy in the development of the world—a force that must be given scope—comments on this platform from a point of view typical of many old school politicians not yet awake to the implications of a United States at war: "The almost invariable support of the federal plank by Socialists and other radicals, while many Democrats and Republicans refuse to endorse it, was cited last night by politicians, who tried to forecast the effect of this decision upon the woman vote next November. There were those who took a gloomy view of the outlook."

That women increasingly believe they are forwarding an efficient democracy by fighting for federal suffrage is clear enough to real politicians of all parties. The rapid advance of the amendment to victory proves it.

## Use of Energy

"EVERY vestige of partisanship must be thrown to the winds, every party line must be obliterated. This Congress must realize that the greatest need of this country and of civilization is the winning of the war, the downfall of Germany and her allies, the triumph of democracy. Every energy must be exerted, every resource must be at the command of the nation, nothing must be eliminated which will in any way contribute to the winning of the war by the United States and her allies."

Representative Johnson, of Washington state, just back from the European battle-fronts and from an investigation of the industrial side of the war in England, France and Belgium, has this comment to make on the need for greater co-operation of forces in the United States. Mr. Johnson is a strong supporter of the federal amendment for woman suffrage. He will undoubtedly work for it in this session of Congress as one of the most necessary pieces of legislation to back up the military program of this country.

## Waste of Women

MR. JOHN BARRETT, director-general of the Pan-American Union, now at work for the Council of National Defense on a plan for uniting the American republics in an anti-German league, recently addressed Chicago women on women's part in the war.

"This war," he said, "will be won or lost, according to the attitude of the women of the country. I base this not alone on my own opinion, but that of the greatest statesmen and generals of England, France and Italy, with whom I conversed during my visit to those countries and to the battle line in France. Women form the great reserve lines of the nations in this struggle. Just as long as they, by words, deeds, sentiment and action, no matter how great the toll upon lives of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, stand firm, the war will be continued toward victory, and no longer."

Every observer, even Mr. Root, who brings back anything of the European experience won in this war, sees the force of women in the new co-ordination vital in a fighting state. Always on their return from Europe they are struck by the provincialism of the United States in its subjection and waste of women.

## Suffrage in Belgium

THE party of Congressmen who have returned from the war fronts for the opening of Congress report Belgium waiting only for the power again to govern itself before enfranchising women. King Albert told them of his strong conviction for woman suffrage and said that one of the first internal reforms of the government, when restored, would be the granting of universal suffrage in the kingdom.

## Irishwomen Demand Suffrage

THE Irish convention, still sitting in Dublin to consider a settlement of the Irish question, has received this letter from the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation:

"We earnestly trust that the claims of women to enfranchisement are receiving your consideration, and that no attempt will be made to draft a settlement of the Irish question which will fail to make provision for the granting of the parliamentary vote to Irishwomen. The exclusion of women from participation in the new Irish Government will lead to the greatest discontent and unrest. We consider it superfluous to remind you of the great demand existing amongst Irishwomen that their claims to justice and citizenship shall immediately be granted."

Under the present government Irishwomen will be enfranchised with Englishwomen by the new British franchise bill. They are therefore especially concerned with the new system of government. It is unbelievable, however, that any Irish government would fail to give the fullest franchise possible to Irishwomen, who like the women in Russia, have suffered oppression equally with the men, and together with the men have fought for Ireland's liberty.

## Prussia Gets Ahead

THE Prussian government will this week introduce a bill for franchise reform in the Diet. The bill provides for "a single vote by secret ballot to every Prussian over twenty-five." This, of course, will not enfranchise Prussian women, Prussia, like the United States, still working out its government in terms of men only. It is noteworthy, however, that Prussia regards franchise reform as a "war measure."

# The Woman's Party Conference at the Capital

THE Advisory Council Conference of the National Woman's Party being held this week in Washington has been almost overnight turned to a conference of victory. Alice Paul, national chairman; Lucy Burns and twenty-nine suffrage workers representing every section of the country, were released from prison just before the conference, after scoring a complete victory over the government which realized, though late, that the suppression by force of women fighting for liberty, would not solve the suffrage problem in this country.

The conference met to consider the strategic movements of the national organization through the coming year, especially in regard to the Congress of the United States, convened a few days before the opening of the conference. The fact that the government had been forced to release all suffragists, abandoning for the first time in months their stand that petitioning the government was illegal, makes unusually interesting the deliberations in Washington.

The present conference has brought to the National Council not only the heads of the National Departments and the State Chairmen from all sections of the country, but also District Chairmen from many States, and both men and women who have been stirred to indignation by the attitude of the Administration toward legitimate suffrage propaganda in Washington.

AMONG the notable women who are in Washington are: Mrs. Eleanor Carlisle, State chairman of California; Mrs. William Kent, of California; Dr. Caroline Spencer, of the State Board of Colorado; Mrs. M. Toscan Bennet and Mrs. Geo. H. Day, of the National Advisory Council, Connecticut; Mrs. W. D. Ascough, State Chairman; Mrs. Dorothy Jones Bartlett; Mrs. Annie Porritt, Connecticut; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, State Chairman; Mrs. Victor Du Pont, Sr.; Mrs. E. Paul Du Pont, Mrs. Frederick Bringhurst, State Committee, Miss Elizabeth P. Speakman, State Committee; Mrs. Annie Arniel, Delaware; Mrs. Mary A. Nolan and Miss Susan Post, Florida; Mrs. Beatrice Castleton, State Chairman, Georgia; Miss Ella J. Abeel, State Chairman; Mrs. William U. Watson, Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Miss Alice Henkle, Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, of the National Advisory Council; Mrs. Avery Coonley, of the National Advisory Council, Illinois; Mrs. K. L. Wolfe, Indiana; Miss Iris Calderhead, Kansas; Miss Edith Callahan, State Chairman, Kentucky; Mrs. M. L. Graham Bankston, State Chairman; Mrs. E. J. Graham and Mrs. Alice Cosu, Louisiana; Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, Maine; Mrs. Donald Hooker, State Chairman; Miss Lucy Branham, Miss Gladys Greiner, Miss Julia Emory, Maryland; Mrs. Agnes Morey, National Advisory Council; Miss Katherine Morey, Miss Grace Henshaw, State vice-chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, Mrs. Lewis Bement, Massachusetts; Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, State Chairman; Mrs. George Hendrie and Miss Margaret Whittemore, Michigan; Mrs. A. R. Colvin, State Chairman; Mrs. Alden Potter, National Advisory Council, Minnesota; Miss Hazel Hunkins, Mrs. Ella Morton Dean, Montana; Miss Doris Stevens, National Executive Committee, Nebraska; Miss Anne Martin, National Vice-Chairman, Nevada; Miss Sallie Hovey, State Chairman, New Hampshire; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, State Chairman; Mrs. George G. Scott, Mrs. A. J. Rose, Miss Minnie D. Abbott, New Jersey; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, State Chairman; Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. William Colt, Miss Crystal Eastman, Miss Marion May, Miss Vida Milholland, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Ada Chase Dudley, Mrs.

*Continued on Page 15*

## PROGRAM

CONFEERENCE OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL AND OFFICERS OF THE

### National Woman's Party

Conference Headquarters, Rauscher's, 1034 Connecticut Avenue.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 9 P. M.

Rauscher's—1034 Connecticut Avenue.

RECEPTION BY THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY.
Mrs. W. Thompson Burch,
*Chairman of Committee on Arrangements.*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7, 10 A. M.

Rauscher's—1034 Connecticut Avenue.
MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL.
Mrs. John Rogers, of New York, *Chairman, Presiding.*
REPORT OF ADVISORY COUNCIL WORK—GENERAL DISCUSSION.

2:30 P. M.

MEETING OF ADVISORY COUNCIL, STATE CHAIRMEN, HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS ELECTED OFFICERS, AND GUESTS TO RECEIVE COMMITTEE FROM THE NATIONAL PARTY.
Mrs. John Rogers, *Chairman.*
APPOINTMENT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.
PROPOSALS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY BY MR. J. A. H. HOPKINS OF NEW JERSEY AND MR. ALLAN MCCURDY OF NEW YORK, MEMBERS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NATIONAL PARTY.
SPEAKERS.
"A REPORT OF THE PAST WORK AND OUTLINE OF FUTURE PLANS."
Miss Mabel Vernon,
*Secretary of the National Woman's Party.*
"WOMEN VOTERS AND THE AMENDMENT."
Miss Anne Martin,
*ViceChairman of the National Woman's Party.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 10 A. M.

Rauscher's—1034 Connecticut Avenue.
MEETING OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF STATE CHAIRMEN AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS TO DISCUSS PLANS FOR CLOSER CO-OPERATION.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Delaware, *Presiding.*
ELECTION OF CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARY OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

2:30 P. M.

MEETING OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL, STATE CHAIRMEN, HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS, ELECTED OFFICERS, AND GUESTS.
Mrs. John Rogers of New York, *Chairman.*
REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.
DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.
SPEAKERS.
"LEGISLATIVE SITUATION."
Miss Maud Younger of California.

7:30 P. M.

DINNER IN HONOR OF RELEASED PICKETS.
Mrs. Toscan Bennett of Connecticut, *Toastmistress.*
Mrs. Richard Wainwright of Washington,
*Chairman of Committee on Arrangements.*
SPEAKERS.
Mr. Frank P. Walsh.
Hon. George B. Francis,
*Member of Congress from New York.*
Released Suffrage Pickets.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9, 3 P. M.

MASS MEETING—BELASCO THEATRE.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont of New York, *Presiding.*
Mrs. Thomas Hepburn of Connecticutt, *Chairman.*
SPEAKERS.
Mr. Dudley Field Malone.
Miss Rose Winslow of New York.
Miss Maud Younger of California.
PRESENTATION OF PINS TO THE RELEASED PICKET PRISONERS.
By Mrs. William Kent of California.

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MASS MEETING.

RECEPTION IN HONOR OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL.
Raleigh Hotel.
Hostess—Mrs. Howard Gould of New York.
Chairman Committee on Arrangements—Mrs. William Kent of California.
For reservations for the dinner, at $1.50 a plate, write to Mrs. Richard Wainwright.
The address of each of the above is: National Woman's Party, 822 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

# Close of Suffrage Battle Predicted

THE Administration has everything to gain and nothing to lose by putting the national suffrage amendment through the House next week. It wishes to get rid of a troublesome matter and to end the demonstrations at the White House gates. It knows that nothing short of favorable action on the amendment will end this agitation for democracy at home which is increasingly embarrassing to a government waging a war abroad in the name of democracy. To bring up the amendment now, and then deliberately to defeat it, would be a blunder greater than any this government has yet been guilty of. It would intensify instead of ending the agitation. The only reasonable purpose in a vote at this time is the passage of the amendment. The democratic leaders have been taught by lobbyists of the National Woman's Party that a mere record vote which defeats the amendment is worse than no vote at all; that only its passage can satisfy us, and relieve the President and the Administration from the onus of obstructing a measure the West is demanding with growing determination at a time when war problems must be met and the approaching congressional elections faced.

We have more than a majority of both Houses safe for the amendment. The President and the President alone can supply the difference between what we have and the two-thirds we need to insure its passage. It is to the advantage of the President to give this support and to rid the Administration of an embarrassing situation.—*Anne Martin, Vice-Chairman National Woman's Party.*

THE opening day of Congress found members of the Woman's Party from almost every State in the Union knocking at the members' doors with renewed hope and determination. Among the lobbyists were the prisoners who had just been released from the government jail as a result of their hunger strike protest. Members were eager to hear from the prisoners themselves the truth about the treatment the women had received at Occoquan workhouse and the jail. They had been hearing across country confusing reports and plenty of misrepresentation of facts in the press.

"While, of course, I have always been opposed to picketing, I can find no words strong enough to express my condemnation for the brutal treatment the women received for so mild an offense," said one Congressman. . . . "While I have always been opposed to suffrage I have been so aroused over the treatment of the women at Occoquan that I have decided to vote for the Federal Amendment and will do all I can to secure a Congressional investigation of that institution."

"If my vote is needed to carry the amendment 'over the top,' I will vote for it," said a member from Louisiana, heretofore opposed.

NOTHING contributed more to the feeling of certain victory than the announcement by Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, and Senator Vardaman, of Mississippi, that they would support the amendment. "In order to democratize the nation, to help democratize the world, and last but not least, to democratize war, I shall cast my vote for the national woman suffrage amendment," said Senator Gore, who has been one of the staunchest opponents of nation-wide suffrage up to this time.

"I have just talked with about ten of my colleagues this morning," said a Republican member from New York, "and I find that the unanimous opinion is that the amendment will carry." . . . "All the Democratic members from New York will, I believe, support the measure," said a Democratic member from New York. . . . "I will work for it at the Republican caucus and will talk to my colleagues and urge them to vote for it," said a Pennsylvania Representative.

"BOTH parties are claiming heavy support for the amendment," said Mrs. Agnes Morey, of Boston. "The number of men who have come over since the last session of Congress is perfectly amazing. It is interesting to notice their extreme anxiety least we think picketing may have influenced them to this favorable position. This form of agitation has certainly kept in their minds the disquieting fact that American women have been suffering for the cause of democracy. And it has made them feel shame and embarrassment at the treatment administered by the government. Many of them have been shocked for the first time into the realization that women really love liberty to the point of enduring extreme pain for it. This had to be done before the apathy of even friendly men could be penetrated and translated to action."

"I am opposed to suffrage, but if the party leaders decide to support it, I shall vote for the amendment," said a New England Democrat.

Senator Pittman, of Nevada, and Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, have also been won to the Federal Amendment since their adverse votes on it in the Senate in 1915.

Even the Junior Senator from Massachusetts said "While I am, as you know, opposed and shall vote against it, it is undoubtedly going through immediately."

"The democracy argument appeals to me. Please do not quote me as saying 'no.' I am merely uncertain," said a member from Michigan.

"I will vote for the amendment if the President tells me to," said a good party Democrat from Florida. And it is no secret that his frank sentiment has been heard often in the halls by suffrage lobbyists.

An occasional member could be found who said in answer to an appeal to give nation-wide suffrage to women, "My wife doesn't want to vote. Neither does my daughter"—and seemed to feel certain that the matter ended there. A still more occasional law-maker tried to revive the "negro question," and one or two got eloquent about the precious sovereignty of the state.

THESE signs of hopeless reaction did not, however, cool the enthusiasm of every prison-lobbyist returning from the Capitol. "Everything points toward an early victory," was the unanimous opinion.

The chairman of the judiciary committee, Mr. Webb, announced that the suffrage amendment would probably be reported favorably by that committee December 11 and that the amendment would undoubtedly be voted upon the following week. Every member of the conference will lobby diligently during the coming week and the gigantic drive for a favorable vote will be continued until the very hour the vote is taken.

Among the prison-lobbyists and others who have interviewed their Representatives and Senators, are:

Mrs. Agnes Morey, Miss Katharine Morey, of Boston; Mrs. Florence Morrill, Mrs. Ida Mae Waters, Mrs. Gilson Gardner and Mrs. Robert Baker, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Catherine Flannagan, Miss Minnie Henessy, Mrs. W. D. Ascough, of Connecticut; Miss Natallie Gray, of Colorado; Mrs. Elizabeth Selden Rogers, Mrs. F. W. Kendall, Mrs. Clarence Smith, Mrs. Frank Payne, Miss Elsie Hill, Mrs. F. R. Hazard, Miss Amy Jungling, Miss Cynthia Harris, Mrs. Peggy Johns, Miss Hattie Kruger, Mrs. Paula Jakobi, and Mrs. R. T. Hornesby, Miss Wills, of New York; Miss Berta Crone, of Montana; Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas; Miss Julia Emory, Miss Gladys Greiner, of Maryland; Mrs. Mary Nolan, of Florida; Mrs. Alice Cosu, Mrs. E. J. Graham, Mrs. M. L. Graham Bankston, of New Orleans; Mrs. C. T. Robertson, Mrs. Minnie Quay, Mrs. E. C. Jenkins, of Salt Lake City, Utah; Miss Betty Gram, of Portland, Oregon; Miss Kate Heffelfinger, Miss Harriet Dulles, Miss Ella Riegel, Miss Elizabeth McShane, Miss F. Q. Sanville, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Kate Stafford, of Oklahoma; Miss L. J. C. Daniels, of Vermont; Miss Maud Younger, Mrs. William Kent, of California; Miss Edith Callahan, of Kentucky; Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, of Michigan.

"Women will bring an early peace?" said one Congressman. . . . "Women's votes will unify our nation in its war for democracy," said another. "Women will show more sacrifice and more zeal for the preservation of democratic values than do men." And so the comments ran. There were now given as many shades of reasons for the support of the amendment as were formerly offered against it.

"The Administration shows embarrassment at every turn. They can do nothing less than pass the amendment after the frightful persecution of women for which they have been responsible. This and this only will make women voters forget to retaliate," said a Caliafornit woman voter attending the conference.

# Prussian Government?

## A Lawyer's Analysis of the Present Suffrage Situation

### By W. A. Crichton Clarke

WHAT is this war about?

It is primarily to prevent Prussian men from doing to American men that which American men are doing to American women.

The Prussian idea is to dominate the world; to rule other men and nations against their will; to negative the idea that just government depends on the consent of the governed.

What the Prussians have threatened to do to American men, the latter have long done to American women. Prussian rule would mean that American men would have no more voice in the government that rules them than American women. Horrible thought! More horrible still is the thought that American women would have no less say in the laws imposed on them under Prussian rule than they now have under the rule of American men. So that, theoretically, Prussian domination would alter the status of men but not of women.

American women are dominated by their political superiors, the men; they are ruled against their will; the government under which they live does not depend in any degree upon their consent. The principle of no taxation without representation does not apply to women in either Prussia or the United States.

ELIHU ROOT and the Supreme Court say that the vote is not a natural right; that it is merely a privilege awarded to those who by virtue of intelligence and independence are qualified to use it. Therefore, the vote is awarded to the least intelligent and least independent negro and denied to the most intelligent and most independent white woman.

Root and the Supreme Court are right only in the sense that the vote is governed by majority rule and power, and not by justice or natural right. The strongest and most numerous group in the state awards to or withholds the vote from other men at its pleasure. And so men, as the strongest political power in the modern state, arbitrarily withhold the vote from women in precisely the same way that the Prussians propose to withhold it from the men they conquor.

Up until the present war the anti-suffragists have unconsciously gloried in the "might makes right" argument. They claimed that the vote only belonged to those who were able to fight for it, and that, therefore, men as fighting creatures have a right to govern non-fighting women.

The argument probably never will be used again; first, because women are as willing to fight and work, both directly and indirectly, for their country as the men; and second, because the argument essentially concedes the Prussian contention that the strong are justified in ruling the weak even against their consent.

THERE is an element of humor in this peace-time argument that those who do not fight shall not vote. As soon as the present war broke out, the cry went up in every country for the support of women—"Give us your sons, sweaters, sweethearts, socks and spouses," said the statesmen, "but do not ask anything in return. We are only fighting for men's votes. The women have none to fight for. We only seek to make male democracy safe. There is no such thing as female democracy."

I wonder what would have happened if the women had retorted: "This is a war for votes and such a war does not concern women. Give us a voice in democracy and then we will work for it."

There are those who will say it is far-fetched to argue that our boys are fighting abroad to prevent Prussians from doing to us that which we have always done to our women, and yet it is literally true. The Prussians, if conquerors, would only enslave men in the sense that they would take away the vote in the way that men in the conquered provinces of France are disfranchised. That is the way our women are treated.

Curious, is it not, that Mr. Wilson sees the necessity of sending millions of soldiers abroad to prevent Prussians from depriving men of the vote, yet he will not even send a message to Congress to prevent men from depriving women of the vote?

# To One in Prison

### To Mrs. Lawrence Lewis

SLEEPLESS I watch the night, where the great stars
Range on unfettered through Eternity
And the gray clouds drift free,
And marvel Fate could cage a soul like thee,
So martyr-bright, foredawning Liberty,
In prison bars.

I marvel he who surged the ocean swell
And loosed the winds, that they forever sweep
All cleansing o'er the deep
Would for a moment touch thee with the strains
Of jailers' hands and in a place of chains
'Tomb in a cell.

Sure seems it that if any right there be,
Or truth or courage in the souls of men,
Or love or loyalty,
Some flash had riven thy vile prison pen,
Blinding thy foes, lighting thee forth again
Radiant and free.

Helpless I can but pray, brave heart, to thee
That thy high courage fail not. It may be
He who through darkness cast
The undying stars, ever to flame above,
May through thy sorrows dawn some world-light vast
As thy all-giving love.

—*Frank Stephens.*

### THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

### THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

*Introduced*

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

*Referred*

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

*Reported*

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

*Present Status*

*In the Senate*

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

*In the House*

Before the Judiciary Committee.

### HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

*Drafted*

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

*First Introduced*

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

*Reported from Committee*

*In the Senate*

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

*In the House*

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

*Voted Upon*

*In the Senate*

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

*In the House*

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.


# The Suffragist

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## Is the President's Education Finished?

IN his message to Congress December 4 the President re-stated the war aims of America, and in sounding periods declared again that the present world war is a struggle for the liberties of the world.

"It is because it is for us a war of high disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for the vindication of a right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention. . . .

"We have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us," declared the President.

Throughout this historic document, blandly ignoring the twenty million women who, whether they consent to it or not, are being conscripted in the support of the war, the President recommended the declaration of a state of war against Austria, the control of water power sites, export trade combination, railway legislation and the expediting of appropriation legislation.

Two hundred and eighteen women, representing as many thousands, protesting for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, might have suffered arrests, imprisonments, indignities, persecutions at the hands of this government, in vain, for any indication that the Chief Executive, the dictator of the re-convened War Congress, gave of having heard of that heroic protest for liberty here.

The belief of the people of these United States in the Administration's sincerity of purpose in the prosecution of this war for democracy—already shaken by Occoquan and those shameful chapters which preceded it—can only be restored by the enfranchisement of the women of the nation.

The unmistakable demand of the country was heeded when the women who had suffered indignities and cruelties at the hands of the government appointees for demanding liberty, were summarily released last week by the same machinery which had imprisoned them.

That retreat from a difficult position was a compromise, not a solution, on the part of the Administration.

Women believe that when the question of the liberties of American women comes up for a vote early in this session of Congress, the old Administration enemies of suffrage will be found to have mysteriously reversed their position.

If this is not the result, then there is mockery in the President's final verbose prayer in this latest war message; and, at the expense of their own lives and their own health, the women of this nation must continue the education in democracy of the man in the White House.

# Occoquan—An Arraignment of the Government

## By Mrs. John Winters Brannan

THE government authorities have now expended their whole arsenal of force against the picketing; and without avail. They have mobbed, arrested, jailed, workhoused, starved, forcibly fed and manhandled women who are universally admitted to be women of great intelligence, devotion, courage, and refinement and whose only offense was standing at the gates of the White House with banners inscribed with quotations from Woodrow Wilson's writings. They persisted in this course because they believe it imperative to keep suffrage before the President's attention as a war measure; and they have always believed and have been assured by the best of lawyers that they were within their constitutional rights to "peacefully petition."

The government's effort to put a forcible stop to picketing has failed. What will be the next move?

Probably the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Federal Amendment.—*Gilson Gardner, in the Miami Daily Metropolis, November 21*

A REPORTER in the New York Evening Post on November 27, intimates that picketing might endanger the President's life because it attracts crowds and some one might assassinate him. All I can see is that the danger is all to the pickets and not to the President. The President is safe. The pickets have already had a shot fired at them in the Cameron house, and now they have been deliberately terrorized and almost killed by the President's officials. It is not dark Russia I am now to tell of, but so-called enfranchised America.

There is a law against the dishonorable use of the American flag, and in the name of that law I call upon the government to forbid the flying of our flag over the prison at Occoquan, where thirty American women were tortured under the direct orders of high government officials or by their acquiescence.

The superintendent of the prison is under the immediate direction of the three commissioners of the District of Columbia, Louis Brownlow, Gwynne Gardiner and Knight. These three illegally passed over Judge Mullowney's sentence to the District jail—where at least the superintendent is decently humane—and railroaded us to the Occoquan work-house, where the superintendent, W. H. Whittaker, is known to be a man of insane cruelty.

The plan last July, when sixteen of us were first committed to the work-house, was plainly to break us down by inflicting extraordinary humiliations upon us—crowding us in with negro prostitutes, forcing us to bathe before a matron and a negro prisoner, denying us every decency of personal life—no combs, no tooth brushes, no toilet paper—the only soap, one small piece used in common by all the inmates of the dormitory.

The head matron took several occasions to emphasize the danger of communicable diseases or to call attention to the fact that our fellow inmates were the "scum of the Washington prostitutes." The manner of the superintendent and matron was of uncalled for rudeness. They went out of their way to give us all sorts of petty orders with coarse impertinence.

THIS plan failed to stop our peaceful legal picketing. On November 10 forty-one women of the National Woman's party picketed the White House gates. Then the plan of terrorizing us was conceived and carried out to a degree that has not yet been told. The scene that took place in the reception room of the work-house on the night of November 14 was of incredible, infamous cruelty.

Nothing that we know of German frightfulness, short of murdering and maiming noncombatants, could exceed the brutality that was used towards us. I firmly believe that no matter how we behaved, Whittaker had determined to attack us as part of the government plan to suppress picketing.

Our only offense had been to ask to see and insist upon seeing the superintendent. We waited two hours; then he appeared—in a rage. Mrs. Lewis stepped forward as our spokesman.

"Mr. Whittaker, I have a statement to make to you."

She got no further. Without waiting to hear what she had to say, Whittaker gave the word, and his terrible guards began the attack.

Its totally unexpected ferocity stunned us. I saw two men seize Mrs. Lewis, lift her from her feet and catapult her through the doorway. I saw three men attack Miss Burns, twisting her arms behind her and then two other men grasp her shoulders. There were six to ten guards in the room and many others collected on the porch—forty to fifty in all. These all rushed in with Whittaker when he first entered.

Instantly the room was in havoc. The guards brought from the male prison fell upon us. I saw Miss Lincoln, a slight young girl, thrown to the floor. Mrs. Nolan, a delicate old lady of seventy-three was mastered by two men. The furniture was overturned and the room was a scene of havoc.

Whittaker in the center of the room directed the whole attack, inciting the guards to every brutality.

The whole group of women were thrown, dragged and hurled out of the office, down the steps and across the road and field to the administration building, where another group of bullies was waiting for us. The assistant superintendent, Captain Ream, was one of these, armed with a stick which he flourished at us, as did another man. The women were thrown down roughly on benches.

A Miss Day, who struggled and resented the attack, was thrown back and forth over the back of the bench, one man throttling her while the other two were at her shoulders until she was dazed and half unconscious.

THE guards picked us out one by one as Ream ordered—"take another one—throw her in." This all meant to throw us in the cells. They were the cells of the men prisoners. I was thrown in with four others in a cell with a narrow bed and dirty blankets. The one chair was immediately taken out.

The water closet was in the cell in full view of the corridor where Whittaker and the guards were thrashing about. The flushing of the closets could only be done from the corridor. We were forced to ask the men to do this—men who a moment before had outrageously attacked us. They flushed the closets or not as they saw fit.

The cell door opposite was opened for a moment. I saw Miss Lincoln and spoke across to her. "Are you all right?"

Instantly Whittaker and the guard appeared.

"Stop that!" he yelled at me, "not another word from your mouth, or I will handcuff you, and gag you, and put you in a straight jacket if you say another word."

Not a woman attendant was in sight. We were absolutely in the power of a gang of prison thugs. I said to myself, "No mere superintendent would dare to do this, unless he was assured of the most powerful political backing. He is evidently ready to go any length."

IT WAS A night of most extreme terror. I thought of the young girls who were with us and feared the extreme of outrage upon us. I believe that this fear was counted upon and used as a weapon. Not a woman attendant was in sight. The guards clanged the barred doors, and opened them upon us at their will, gave us or denied us water—jeered at me when I asked for a pillow or more water. No food of any kind was offered to us.

There is no question that this time our jailers made an attempt to break us down by the mental torture of fear. Every detail of the assault upon us and our treatment in the cells was worked up with this intent.

For instance, Mrs. Butterworth was warned by a guard that she would be only with men—not a woman in hearing. Mrs. Robertson fainted and when regaining consciousness heard Whittaker say:

"I have handed them over to the men; they will be glad to get their hands upon them; they will treat them rough."

I noticed one of the guards had a billy in his hands. There were idle matrons in the dormitories that might readily have been sent to the prison to look after us, an insure decent respect for us as women.

AT 11 o'clock Thursday our group came out fainting and ill—in a state of exhaustion and shock, and indescribable stunning of every faculty. Added to this was my anxiety as to the fate of my companions. The first that I learned of Mrs. Lewis and Miss Burns was from Mrs. Morey on Friday. She had spent the night near them both. She was in the same cell with Mrs. Lewis, and saw her hurled in as one would throw down a sack of rags. She fell on her knees and hard against the wooden bench. There was no bed in that cell.

She heard Miss Burns' quiet voice gently calling out to each one, asking how she was and trying to reassure them all. It was for this, and this alone, that Whittaker had Miss Burns handcuffed and manacled to the outer bars. Her arms were held up in a position of torture and he threatened he would keep her there all night.

On this same day, half swooning, I fell upon my knees in the doctor's office, where I had gone to ask to be allowed to lie down. I was in terror of another attack by the guards every moment. I could not sleep for hours.

It can hardly be believed, but I have no doubt that our painful, miserable experiences with bloodhounds on Friday afternoon was a further attempt to terrorize us. The head matron, Mrs. Herndon, suggested that we take a walk under the care of the sewing-room matron. She led us through the near-by woods for about three-quarters of a mile—a weary, dazed, exhausted group of faint women, stopping constantly to rest.

On our way back we heard the baying of hounds in the woods very near us. The matron said, "You must hurry up, the bloodhounds are loose." Miss Findeisen asked, "Would they attack us?" "That's just what they would do," she answered and hurried us on faster.

The baying grew louder and nearer at times and then more distant as the dogs rushed back and forth. They were very close to us when we finally reached the sewing room.

AN HOUR after this our counsel, Mr. O'Brien, was able to effect an entrance to our prison and to see us alone—the first blessed evidence that our friends could at last reach us and protect us.

If proof is needed that the Administration is behind this outrageous attempt to suppress our campaign for the federal suffrage amendment it can be found in the following fact: When Mrs. Morey and three others were giving their names at the desk, Whittaker said to them, "If you will promise not to picket again I will release you at once. I will take you back to Washington in my own car and you need not pay your fines."

Yet people say we were arrested for obstructing traffic! Surely all decent men and women will feel that to have such a man as Whittaker, with his cruel, inhuman spirit, in a position of absolute power over the unfortunate criminals at Occoquan, is a disgrace to our nation.

# Dr. John Winters Brannan on Occoquan Workhouse

DR. JOHN WINTERS BRANNAN, president of the Board of Trustees of Bellevue and the Allied Hospitals of New York City, came to Washington, D. C., to be with his wife during her trial as one of the suffrage pickets who was ordered released from Occoquan workhouse and sent back to the District Jail. Dr. Brannan made the following statement in the Federal Courtroom in Alexandria, Virginia, November 23, 1917.

I FIND Mrs. Brannan in a state of almost complete collapse from the shocking treatment to which she has been subjected in Occoquan workhouse. The shock of what she has suffered and the sufferings of others that she has witnessed have undermined her health to the point where I cannot permit her to continue her jail sentence. I shall take her back with me to New York, but, as she herself says, she lives nearby and can return if she is again needed.

"Today is the first opportunity I have had to hear my wife's full story, though I have been in Washington three times this week, attempting to find out the actual conditions of her imprisonment. She was not allowed to communicate with me from the workhouse, and when I saw her last Sunday Superintendent Whittaker insisted upon being present at the interview, and would not allow me to ask her any questions concerning the institution. I find that she herself was twice warned by the Superintendent with threats that she must not tell me anything of the conditions in the workhouse.

"When I went through the workhouse last Sunday the wards and lavatories seemed to me to be clean. I found out afterward that the white paint which impressed me has been put on in response to the protests of earlier suffrage prisoners, that it is only a blind to deeper sinister conditions.

"One thing I did notice was the look of terror which came into the faces of all the women prisoners when Mr. Whittaker stepped near them.

"From my wife's account it is evident the suffrage prisoners were deliberately terrorized when they entered Occoquan and were treated with great brutality by the men guards, who handled them and knocked them about with the fury of thugs, under the immediate direction of Mr. Whittaker himself, who called out that the men 'would be glad to get their hands on them.'

"THERE was no excuse for this treatment whatever, since the ladies did not, as reported, refuse to give their names to the Superintendent but merely refused to give them to the matron, in order to force Mr. Whittaker to appear before them and listen to their demands to be treated as political offenders. When he arrived, he gave them no opportunity to give their names, but burst into the room and called his guards in after him with orders to 'seize' Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, who was acting as spokesman.

She was dragged from the room with curses and with Mr. Whittaker shaking his fist in her face and threatening her with a gag and a strait-jacket. The others, my wife tells me, were all brutally and outrageously handled, and are still carrying the bruises. They were thrown into a panic of terror and finally separated from each other and literally hurled into the cells where they were kept in darkness all night.

Mrs. Brannan called from her cell across the corridor to a young girl and asked if she was all right. Mr. Whittaker at once appeared and said he would bring the gag and strait-jacket if she spoke again. In some cells there were three women with nothing to lie on but one narrow bed and two straw mats. They were offered no food until the following noon, and Miss Cora Week, of New York, was denied the so-called 'privilege' of a glass of water.

"MRS. Henry Butterworth, of New York, was carried off alone into the men's section of the jail, deliberately told there would be no other woman with her, and there she was left all night without any other woman prisoner or matron near her, and the sound of men's voices on all sides. As for the hunger strike, that was not started because the women desired to make martyrs of themselves, but in an attempt to secure food which they could eat and decent living conditions.

"These facts represent an intolerable condition that cannot be permitted to go no. Whether all agree with these ladies or not in the methods they employ to win a share in our government, we are compelled to recognize their sincerity and sacrifice and the fact that they feel that they have broken no law, since the Constitution guarantees their right to petition and the Clayton Act makes picketing in the District lawful. If they are guilty of an offense it is trivial in comparison with the outrageous insults and the brutal treatment to which they have been subjected."

# Nation-Wide Tour Closes in Washington

WITH the December Conference of the National Woman's Party, the nation-wide tour of the organization is brought to a dramatic close. The speakers for the Woman's Party, presenting the record of the Administration to the country during the past two months have traveled through every State in the Union, and have focussed public attention on the amazing events which have for the last six months taken place in the Capital.

There was not a large city in the Union which was not visited by the intrepid organizers and speakers of the National Woman's Party. In many States a campaign of malicious misinterpretation was inaugurated against the suffrage speakers. In other states government secret service men attempted to stop the meetings by intimidation. But the mass meetings that presented the truth about picketing went on, and thousands of indignant men and women took up the fight that press misrepresentation had made difficult to carry on from Washington.

The attitude of newspapers and the attitude of politicians was the most amazing feature of the suffrage tour. It was demonstrated that the newspapers of this nation are inherently fair as a whole, and willing to present the truth in the news. For the first time they met face to face the young women who had gone to prison for their belief in freedom; for the first time they heard able speakers weld the unbreakable chain of events that necessitated the Woman's Party program in their fight for freedom for the women of this nation. The attitude of the country has proven, as nothing else could have proven, that vast numbers of men and women stand behind the present demand for full democracy in the face of our so-called war for democracy. In addition, links in the party machine itself, canny politicians, were the first to censure the attitude of the Administration as a tactical blunder, a stupid political mistake.

THE speakers who left Washington two months ago to face weeks of rigorous campaigning in the face of public opinion rendered hostile through misrepresentation, were the following women, all notable, all closely connected with the long fight for freedom that women have been forced to make in this country: Miss Maud Younger, of California, the well-known labor advocate, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Woman's Party, and one of the leaders of the suffrage lobby in Congress, covered fourteen Southern States and seventy-seven cities; Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, a suffrage figure well loved in the West, National vice-chairman of the Woman's Party, travelled through the west and middle west, speaking in fifteen States and cities; Miss Mabel Vernon, of Delaware, national secretary of the Woman's Party, and one of the best known women orators in the country, covered the middle and northwest; Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, of Washington, D. C., press chairman of the National Woman's Party, and a member of its executive board, spoke in the eastern States. All of these women had been first-hand witnesses of the long months of government persecution in the Capital. Three of them had themselves served terms in Occoquan workhouse or the District jail.

Organizing the State meetings, speaking before hundreds of organizations of every kind, welcoming new members to the National Woman's Party, and interpreting the tour and the reason for the tour to hundreds of newspapers in all sections, a group of Woman's Party organizers prepared the ground that the speakers covered. These trail-blazers included Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas; Miss May Condon, of Connecticut; Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado; Miss Rebecca Hourwich, of New York; Miss Hazel Hunkins, Miss Alice Henkle, of Illinois; Miss Sarah C. Grant, of Minnesota; Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, of South Carolina; Miss Marjorie Ross, of Wyoming; Miss Katherine Mullen, of Connecticut; Miss Jane Pincus, of New York; Miss Joy Young, of Virginia; Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, of Maryland; Miss Vivian Pierce, of California; Miss Elsie Hill, of Connecticut; Mrs. Benton Mac Kaye, of the District of Columbia; Miss Lucy Branham, of Maryland; Miss Clara Louise Rowe, of California; Miss Berta Crone, of Montana; Miss Helen Hunt, of Florida, and Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, of Minnesota.

MRS. BAKER held inspiring meetings in Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Delaware. New England women, immersed in war work, had heard but garbled versions of the story of the suffrage picket, what it was accomplishing in drawing attention to incomplete democracy, and how the government was answering this expose. Mrs. Baker was ably assisted at her meetings by Miss Elsie Hill and Mrs. Benton MacKaye, in New York. Dudley Field Malone at some sacrifice, spoke at the New York State and Massachusetts meetings, arousing fiery indignation. Great additional interest was aroused when Helena Hill Weed showed her picture story of the history of the picketing and explained by actual photographs of the scenes of arrests, the illegality and injustice of marshalling these women off to jail.

Mrs. Baker's shrewd political predictions following upon her concise history of the White House picket and what it had done to force suffrage into position as a national issue was listened to with respect: "Many straws show that the Democrats are taking cognizance of Republican breezes," was the way Mrs. Baker put it. "The net result of the contending political forces everywhere current in the country and in the Capital is that the Suffrage Amendment must be submitted to the State Legislatures during the next session of Congress, and so be taken forever out of national politics."

It took colossal courage to go into the South with the picket gospel, but Miss Younger and Mrs. Howard Gould, who not only spoke in fourteen states, but who also loaned her car for the entire southern trip, triumphed. Those who watched those southern audiences will never forget the change from antagonism and curiosity to enthusiasm and sympathy, written like print on the hundreds of faces. All classes and conditions of people were reached by the message. As one editor expressed it "the crowds listened with lowering brows and rising passion." A big Georgia mountaineer confessed after the meeting, "I could hardly set still when you ladies was telling your story."

Most of the southern meetings were held in the open air, and in many cases the entire town, including the mayor, assembled to meet the speakers. In Chairman of Judiciary Committee Webb's home town practically everyone came over to the pickets under the very eyes of that southern statesman.

IN Orangeburg, S. C., and in Albany, Ga., the local Chamber of Commerce arranged the meetings. "Down Mobile Way" 2,000 people stood waiting to hear the speakers as they arrived. In fact everywhere the news of the coming of the pickets in Mrs. Gould's big car with its purple white and gold suffrage flags flying, drew crowds, and "Come again and we'll get you a bigger crowd," was generally the final word.

The last word from the whole South was spoken by Mr. and Mrs. Deha Breckenridge, of Lexington, Ky., who are such good suffragists that they could not be intolerant toward the dramatic chapter told by Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould. When they parted from Mrs. Gould and Miss Younger at the train, "Thousands more should have heard that speech," declared Mr. Breckenridge.

In Tennessee alone, of the whole South, an artificially created wave of hysteria seized the State. One mayor declared: "I believe in one God, one President, and Peace, and for God's sake keep those suffragettes away from me." The attorney who had been most bitter in the Tennessee attacks said after hearing Miss Younger's speech, "I don't know what all this fuss was about. Court Houses, Hotels and even private houses were denied the Woman's Party speakers, until a group of progressive women and labor men led by Miss Sue White, insisted that the suffragists have a hearing. Finally, in Jackson, the mayor himself, insisting on the right of free speech as a fundamental right in this country, endorsed the sentiments of Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould at a great open air meeting.

It is believed that the steady stream of protests and resolutions from the South had a material effect in releasing the suffrage prisoners from Occoquan workhouse and the District Jail in Washington, and in transforming overnight the sentiments of the southern delegations.

ANNE MARTIN, of Nevada, vice-chairman of the party, has appealed to the West with a fire of conviction for suffrage now as the duty of patriotic women and a courage against the underhanded attempts of the Administration to keep the true suffrage story from the West by setting secret service men to block and break up her meetings, that have roused strong new support among masses of voting women and men. Such Congressmen as Keating and Taylor, and such Senators as Poindexter and Smoot, have been reached with strong deputations of their constituents who demand active efforts for the amendment in Congress. New officers, new members, great sums of money have everywhere in the West proved that forward-looking men and women have only to hear the straight story of the fight the Woman's Party has waged to put their support behind it.

Stopping for meetings in Chicago and Kansas City on her way to the West, Miss Martin began her tour in Kansas where Gov. Capper was won at a mass meeting in Topeka to the policy of the Woman's Party. Other meetings, arranged by Miss Iris Calderhead, national organizer, were held in Wichita and Hutchinson, and a state conference elected a new chairman, Miss Nell Ainslee Anthony.

In Colorado under the management of Mrs. Bertha Fowler, state chairman, and Miss Alice Henkle, organizer, a series of enthusiastic meetings were arranged for Miss Martin in Colorado Springs, Pueblo and Denver. In Wyoming, where Miss Ross preceded her, she spoke in Cheyenne, Laramie, and Caspar, where Mrs. C. E. Winter, wife of Judge Winter of the District Court, was made legislative chairman for the state. In Montana, where Miss Hazel Hunkins was in charge of arrangements, there were meetings in Billings, Butte, Helena and Great Falls—a state conference electing Miss Mary O'Neil as acting chairman and Mrs. E. M. S. Fite, vice-chairman. In the Northwest, in Washington, at Seattle, Spokane and Coeur D'Alene; in Oregon at Portland, Eugene and Pendleton; in five towns in Idaho; in Salt Lake City in Utah, Miss Martin drove home the message of the Woman's Party.

Nevada welcomed "Little Governor Anne" home at meetings in Reno and Carson City. In California she forced home the truth of the barbarous methods of this Administration to crush suffrage with such great force that she was everywhere threatened by secret service men who had no idea what she intended to say but had orders to stop her. In Arizona a state conference in Phoenix selected a strong state committee headed by Mrs. Vernon W. Sweek and other meetings were held in Tucson and Bisbee.

In New Mexico at Albuquerque and Santa Fe Miss Martin found women and men already aroused by the suffrage fight and keen to hear the truth from Washington. She addressed the faculty and students of the State University at Albuquerque and spoke at a luncheon at the Alverado Hotel at which Mrs. Emily Labelle presided and Mrs. Arthur Kellam, state legislative chairman of the Federation of Women's Clubs, made an impassioned protest against the arrest of American women for asking liberty. This was sent to the President as a resolution of the meeting. A mass meeting at the Chamber of Commerce followed, at which Mrs. Alfred Grunsfeld, chairman of the Bureau of Charities, presided. Mrs. Kellam, made legislative chairman for the state branch of the Woman's Party, as her first step at once wired every woman's club in the state in her official capacity as Federation officer urging them to protest to this administration. In Santa Fe a conference, following a mass meeting in the court house, elected Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren as State chairman to succeed Mrs. Joshua Raynolds, who has moved from the state. Mrs. Otero-Warren, well known suffragist of New Mexico, is county superintendent of Public Instruction.

Everywhere appealing in the West to the public-spirited women who are bound to see justice in the demand that a nation that conscripts the sons and brothers of women by national act to fight for democracy in Europe should enfranchise its women by national act. Miss Martin won notable new supporters for the movement the Administration has so lawlessly tried to crush. Such women as Mrs. Sophie Wepf Clark, who in Washington was made the state legislative chairman of the party and who represents ten thousand voting women by her place on the State Legislative Council, in every state were fired by the story Miss Martin told them of the National Woman's Party fight to join their forces to the party.

The Middle Western tour opened in St. Paul, where Miss Mabel Vernon addressed thousands of men at the Farmers' Non-Partisan League convention on September 19. Miss Vernon's ringing appeal to this powerful new political party for its support for national suffrage brought a tremendous response that has proved typical of the answer of the sturdy Middle West to the just demand of public-spirited women for action on suffrage.

Through Michigan and Illinois, Miss Vernon, accompanied by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of the executive board of the party, held a series of enthusiastic meetings. Mrs. J. Nelson Whittemore, Michigan state chairman, was in charge of arrangements for Michigan meetings which were held in Detroit, Bay City, Lansing and Kalamazoo. In Illinois, where Miss Margaret Whittemore, national organizer, preceded the speakers, meetings in Galesburg, Peoria, Springfield and Bloomington were closed by a conference in Chicago, at which Miss Ella Abeel was made chairman of the state branch, and Mrs. Bertram Sippy (former chairman), Mrs. William Henkle, Miss Lucy Ewing and Mrs. William Watson new members of the state committee.

In Wisconsin Miss Vernon spoke at meetings arranged by Miss Ada James, state chairman, in Milwaukee, Madison, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Racine and Richland Center. In Minnesota there were rousing meetings at St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth arranged by Miss Sarah Grant, national organizer and Mrs. Gertrude Hunter; in North Dakota and South Dakota, where Miss Jane Pincus, organizer, was in charge; at Fargo and Grand Forks, Mitchell, Plankinton and Sioux Falls, where a state conference elected a strong new board of officers; in Nebraska, at Omaha and Lincoln, where a new branch was formed at the state university; and in Iowa, with Miss Margaret Whittemore as organizer, in Council Bluffs and in Des Moines; and in Missouri, in Kansas City and St. Louis. New state, district and city committees, new members, money and thousands of protests from Middle Western citizens were striking concrete results of Miss Vernon's story of the suffrage situation to the women and men of these states.

In Oklahoma, where Miss Natalie Gray, assisted by Miss Jane Pincus, preceded Miss Vernon, a state conference was held in Oklahoma City, at the Skirvin Hotel, where a board of fourteen women, headed by Miss Ida Hasley, was elected. This meeting, at which Mrs. J. T. Bounell, president of the Housewives' League, presided, sent strong resolutions to the President. At Guthrie a meeting at the City Hall, at which Mr. John Golobie, editor of the State Register, spoke, wired protests to Washington; at Norman, Miss Vernon spoke in the City Hall at a meeting arranged by Mrs. Miriam Oatman-Blachly and Mrs. N. M. Nice, wives of faculty members of the state university.

In Arkansas, Mrs. John Almand, vice-chairman of the state branch, arranged a meeting for Miss Vernon in the Royal Arcanum Hall, with the help of a strong committee of local women. In Indiana, Miss Margaret Whittemore preceded Miss Vernon for a series of meetings in Terre Haute, Indianapolis and New Castle. In Indianapolis, after a luncheon for one hundred and forty women at the Claypool Hotel, at which Mrs. A. M. Anderson presided and Mrs. John Carey of the national advisory council spoke, a meeting of the state executive committee laid plans for using the enthusiasm aroused by Miss Vernon in Indiana for further pressure for the amendment. In Ohio mass meetings in Columbus and Dayton arranged by Miss Whittemore brought the Middle Western tour to a close.

THE country-wide tour of the Woman's Party, ending in a national advisory council conference has swept party officers from thirty-four states into Washington to lay plans for the amendment campaign in the new session of Congress. Women have come from California, from Texas in the West; from Louisiana in the South; they have gathered at headquarters from all through the Middle West and the East for a meeting of heads of departments, state, congressional districts and national officers. Nearly two hundred strong they represent the aroused public opinion of woman and of men all over the United States for a fight for suffrage now, and are one of the strongest proofs of the ardent response the speakers of the National Woman's Party roused from one end of the country to the other.

# Comments of the Press

## At the Door of Woodrow Wilson

AGAIN does Opportunity knock, hard and loudly, at the door of Woodrow Wilson, President.

The President believes in state's rights, as if human freedom were an issue between Ohio and California and not an issue between God Almighty and American womanhood. It is true that Thomas Jefferson, father of Woodrow Wilson's party, wrote into that party the doctrine of state's rights. For over 70 years, we truckled with, temporized with the pernicious idea that human freedom was a local issue, and fertilized half the nation with human corpses to prove the thing a lie.

Half a century ago we cut each other's throats knowing that this nation could not live "half slave and half free." Today, we know that the freedom of our whole nation and human liberty over the whole civilized world are in deadly peril. Woodrow Wilson has the glorious vision. He says to the oppressed or threatened peoples of Europe:

"As a labor to which we are called by God, we will give you liberty. Here are our young men. Here are all our resources. Drink from our consecrated cup of liberty, equality, democracy. But in my own nation, liberty is bounded on the north by Lake Erie, on the east by Pennsylvania and West Virginia, on the south by Kentucky, on the west by Indiana. And God bless the old party doctrine of state's rights."

Woodrow Wilson, look upon the women of America, in this your hour of trial by world-wide war. It is they who have your vision of universal liberty and happiness. It is they who will sacrifice. It is they who will bury and mourn over the dead heroes through the years. It is they who will win the war against universal slavery to autocracy. Are they a state's issue? Nay, their freedom, their equality of rights are the greatest, most thoroughly national, most universal issue that time has set before mankind since Lee surrendered the sword of state's rights at Appomattox.

The Opportunity of which immortals are born is at your door, Woodrow Wilson. The Congress meets in December. Give it a ringing message in advocacy of the constitutional amendment for equal suffrage!—*Denver, Colo., Express,* Nov. 13.

## Government Waste of Heroism

IT IS too bad that the views of the National Woman's party are not such as to allow its members to lead a more comfortable existence. A woman who will submit to arrest, imprisonment and forcible feeding for the sake of the suffrage cause is entitled to respect for her heroism, but one regrets that she has to waste it in such a way.—*San Francisco Bulletin,* Nov. 17.

## Keep Them on Record!

WOMEN have the same right to organize opposition to candidates upon the ground of their attitude towards certain policies that men have long delighted to exercise. We trust that they will resort to it with regularity. Notwithstanding the progress that has been made in enlightening voters upon the qualifications of candidates, there is still a vast amount of voting in the dark. It would be hard to imagine a more auspicious beginning of women's use of their new power than that of increasing the light of publicity that should beat upon every officeholder, from the President down.—*New York Evening Post,* Nov. 21.

## Help Pay the Debt!

WHEN the kaiser imprisoned Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin, when the former czar sent Katherine Breshkowskaya to Siberia, we of the free United States waxed indignant. We bitterly condemned the tyranny of the kaiser and the czar in persecuting noble, blameless women for their political activities. Yet, if political activity can be called a crime, how infinitely greater were the crimes of Breshkowskaya, Zetkin and Luxemburg, than those of Lucy Burns, Alice Paul and their followers! The German women and the Russian women were frankly opposed to their entire system of government. The American women are only peacefully petitioning their government to let democracy begin at home.

The political prisoners at Washington, the fighters for democracy in America, are rendering invaluable service to the cause of freedom, not only here but everywhere. We women of New York state, who have recently won our political freedom, owe a debt of gratitude to these fearless fighters, whom neither persecution nor martyrdom can deter from their chosen course. We can pay this debt by loyally and consistently supporting them in their great struggle.—*The New York Call,* Nov. 19.

## Mr. Wilson Not Infallible

SINCE when has the right of petition and protest become a crime in the United States? Apparently, only at Washington, where a perverted viewpoint voiced by a police justice—save the mark—insists that picketing is an obstruction of the traffic laws, hence, in violation of a statute of the District of Columbia. Pish tush! If the police did their duty they would protect the women and disperse the viragoes and unmanly men and youths who heckle and harass the silent and inoffensive pickets. The real disturbers of the peace and obstructionists are not the suffragists, but their baiters.

We are told that a soldier sought to snatch the banner from the hands of Mrs. William Kent, of California, Saturday, using brute force in the attempt. What strange irony was this! A soldier enlisted to fight for the perpetuation of democracy actually arrayed against one who should be his comrade in arms, since Mrs. Kent's sole object is the recognition in the United States of a genuine democracy, not a pseudo affair that disfranchises one-half of the citizens of the republic. What legend or motto did the banner bear that so aroused the gallant soldier's ire? Mark it:

MR. PRESIDENT, IN YOUR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS URGE THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT ENFRANCHISING WOMEN.

Only this and nothing more. Forty-one members of the National Woman's party—divided into five groups each—bore a similarly lettered banner. They made no outcries, they proceeded quietly to the White House and disturbed nobody.

Of course, it is irritating to the administration to be reminded that while the country is expending billions of dollars to prevent autocracy from dominating the civilized world, including America, the United States government is indifferent to the fact that here in the United States our boasted democracy is only half baked, a thing of shreds and patches. New York has just rebuked this attitude of mind in a signal manner. Ohio, still under the thrall that obsesses Congress and the administration, is content to let the farce continue unrebuked.

The forty-one women arrested for the sole crime of emphasizing this political satire are not professional agitators, blatant Xantippes or ignorant fanatics. They are of the best blood of the nation, women of culture, tenderly reared, well-educated, highly connected, who feel it a duty to keep the aim of their party continually before the executive head of the government.

Because Mr. Wilson may not, personally, approve federal initiative does not necessarily mean that he is right and the women wrong. If a federal prohibition amendment will hasten what many of us believe is in the best interests of the people of the United States, why not accelerate the cause of equal suffrage in a like manner?—*Richmond, Va., Evening Journal,* Nov. 12.

## An Indictment of America

THE imprisnment of cultured and earnest women in Washington for making an orderly demonstration in a purely legitimate and proper effort to secure the right to vote, and the indefensible treatment accorded these women by the authorities, is nothing less than a stain upon our national self-respect. And it is a good deal more. It is an indictment of American manhood and honor.

Anyone who is honest with himself must admit that these women have just as much right

to contend for political rights which they desire as any political party or organization. . . .

They were not harming anyone. They were not the cause directly or indirectly of any violence or disorder. They did not even obstruct the sidewalk. They did not speak a word to anyone, nor molest anyone. Then what was the crime? What they sought to do was to clearly indicate that suffrage was a national movement and as such should be considered by the National Congress. They sought to menace no one, to annoy no one. But the policy or good taste of the thing is not the issue. The question is one of fair dealing. . . . If all the reports are true, and we have no reason to doubt that they are not, these gentlewomen have been victims of a disgraceful persecution.

The Herald hopes that every woman in this nation will have a vote without qualification or restriction, and that when they get it, as they will, they will use the power of their franchise to smash brutality in public authority along with every other rotten social and political infection in city, state and nation.—*Dayton, Ohio, Evening Herald,* Nov. 23.

## Heroines Bearing Handbags

THERE is something cheerfully practical, an extraordinary display of casual woman's wit, in the suffragist picket habit of carrying a traveling bag when setting out to perform hazardous duty. Jail awaits the persistent picket. Why not be ready?

By a freak of law or of lawlessness suffrage prisoners in the vicinity of the National Capital are not permitted to receive gifts or visitors, so they nonchalantly take what they need with them on their march to the White House gates; a banner borne aloft by one hand, a package of jail comforts in the other. A knitting outfit, a few garments, toilet articles, a book with which to break a jail window and let in oxygen—Alice Paul style—these are the essentials of prison contentment. It sounds simple, and yet there is in it the deepest of woman craft, 1917.

Not one of the ancient heroines, dragged defiant before their tormentors or submitting weakly to the customs of sacrifice, has carried the makings of coiffure or complexion. In the pictures such prisoners were always portrayed as wofully dishevelled, swooning on beds of straw, or perhaps praying behind clammy walls or strolling majestically to their doom. But never a handbag. Andromeda possessed not even a night dress when discovered by the dragon; no virgin cast into the Nile ever had a bath towel concealed on her person; no victim of suttee ever carried a pitcher of ice water. In all ages there have been rough practices against the tenderer sex, and they, poor things, were in a constant state of unpreparedness.

Times are improving. Women have developed beyond even their own not inconsiderable claims. The flag of assault and the handbag of defense, taken together, constitute a symbol unmistakable. Congress cannot be so blind as to overlook it.—*The New York Sun, November 15.*

## The President Must Act

WOMAN SUFFRAGE may be characterized as unfinished business before Congress. Although neither branch voted upon the question at the last session, the Federal amendment is on the calendar of the Senate awaiting action, and the House, shortly before adjournment, seemed to forecast early consideration by creating a new Committee on Woman Suffrage. However, Congress has demonstrated such a disposition to make no important move on its own initiative that nothing may be done unless the President decides to recommend it.

Another big obstacle is the parliamentary system of the House. It is next to impossible, as has been demonstrated repeatedly, to secure action on any big issue unless a few key men in the organization favor such action.

Political expediency would seem to be rapidly forcing a Congressional decision on equal suffrage. With their victory in New York, women voters may now participate in Presidential elections in seventeen states—Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, Kansas, Arkansas, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and North Dakota—with a voting strength of more than 10,000,000. One hundred and ninety-three Presidential electors are involved.

Named, excepting the last four, women to the number of nearly 6,000,000 vote for Congressmen and Senators. Ninety Representatives and twenty-six Senators must now submit their candidacies to women as well as men.—*The Searchlight on Congress,* November.

## In the Press

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE won in New York state the other day by 91,000 majority. Great and totally unexpected was the victory. At one swoop almost as many women were given full voting power as had won it by the previous thirty years of struggle all over the United States, and the quick submission of a federal amendment concerning women's suffrage was made inevitable. That was the greatness of the victory. It was won at a time when the papers from Maine to California were advising against any suffrage activity, particularly condemning picketing; that was its total unexpectedness.—*Chicago Sunday Herald,* Nov. 18.

## The Sheep and the Goats

IT is more than probable that both the suffrage and prohibition amendments will be put through Congress some time during the coming winter and both questions put squarely up to the people of all the states, for the sheep will be separated from the goats before next November and there will be something of a slaughter of the statesmen and near statesmen who are unable to read the signs of the times aright.—*Salt Lake Tribune, Nov. 8.*


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## List of Contributions from Nov. 28 Through Dec. 4, 1917

### Contributions made to National Headquarters:

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| Miss Lavinia Dock | 5.00 | |
| Thru Mrs. Kent's Committee Mrs. Edmund C. Grice | 10.00 | |
| Elizabeth T. Kent | 250.00 | |
| Membership fees | 19.00 | |
| Collections | 19.26 | |
| Total collected by National Headquarters | $1,417.35 | |
| Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST | $282,215.36 | |
| Total collected by National Headquarters through Dec. 4 | | $283,632.71 |

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HEADQUARTERS

### Contributions made to Minnesota Headquarters

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|---|---|
| Mrs. W. E. Rogers | $15.00 |
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| Total collected by branches | $1,013.36 |
| Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST | $39,499.86 |
| Total collected by branches through Dec. 4 | 40,513.22 |
| Grand total | 324,145.93 |
| Deduction: transferred from branch headquarters to National Headquarters | 2,261.00 |
| Grand net total | $321,884.93 |

## Woman's Party Conference

*Concluded from Page 5*

Adelaide Johnston, Miss Lucy Eastman, Miss Rose Winslow, New York; Mrs. Ella St. Clair Thompson, North Carolina; Miss Beulah Amidon, North Dakota; Mrs. Valentine Winters, Mrs. George Rector, Ohio; Mrs. Kate Stafford, Oklahoma; Misses Alice and Betty Gram, Oregon; Miss Mary Bakewell, Miss Mary A. Burnham, Miss Mary Ingham, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Dr. Sara Lockerey, Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Pennsylvania; Mrs. I. U. Wilson, Texas; Mrs. Louise M. Garnett, Mrs. Robert Quay, Mrs. C. T. Robertson, Mrs. E. C. Jenkins, State Chairman, Utah; Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, State Chairman, Miss J. S. Jennings, Mrs. George Pflaster, Virginia; Rev. Olympia Brown, Wisconsin.

## Exactly

ISN'T it altogether possible that the United States sailors who attacked a little old woman in Washington and wrested her suffrage banner from her are of the same stripe as the German soldiers whose brutality in Belgium has been beyond words to describe?—*Miami Daily Metropolis,* Nov. 19.

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